

Perhaps you might say that the European Treaties provide for a liberalization of trade. Sure, but first they did not foresee a simultaneous opening to the outside world, which could be produced with the GATT accords, which are very pernicious for Europe in several domains.

Next, they called for simultaneous political, social, and defense construction. Now, on these last points, Great Britain “slams on the brakes” when it does not purely and simply block any improvement, as in the social aspects of a policy.

Raise the alarm

It is fine to realize this, but what should be done?

The most important thing is to inform the citizens of what is happening because, in a democracy, as long as they do not know, it is vain to hope that the situation will improve. And there, we run up against a block: Among the layer of politicians and the trade unions as well as among the media, *there exists a taboo which forbids publicly talking of the behavior of England in Europe*. If we can overcome this difficulty, the means for “turning the rudder around” will appear completely naturally. We can already expect some solutions:

- First of all, as long as an English Commissioner is defending European interests abroad, no improvement can be obtained.

- Next, the Council of the Community must vigorously take in hand the work of the Commission and France must exercise its veto as often as necessary: on the studies on the ATR and the dismantling of Gaz de France, the opening of the French airspace to English companies, among others, which does not prevent accords with the Germans, the Italians, and the Spaniards. All this, as well as the buildup of Europe’s social, political, and defense structures, will not yield very meaningful concrete results, which will require decades.

The military aspect

As for the military aspect of the construction of Europe, we have spoken very little of this up to this point. In this domain, there exists the Western European Union, whose headquarters is in London and which, theoretically, should serve as the framework for the constitution of a purely European defense. In fact, the British use the WEU as a means of preventing it. One example will suffice to illustrate this assertion:

In November 1992, one could read in the press: “France, Italy, and Spain propose to create a European navy air arm.” Admiral Lanxade, who provided this information, added that Great Britain would not have any objection to this project *on the condition that this force would not be permanent*.

What is a non-permanent force except a force which does not exist? Moreover, if we recall the hostile reactions at the time of the Franco-German brigade, it is useless to continue—the issue is clear: The only Europe acceptable by the English must be disorganized and entirely subject to the Anglo-American leadership on the military, economic, social, and hence political levels!

Uproar in France over Bosnia policy

by Katharine Kanter

Seen from a higher standpoint, the appearance of a new electoral movement in France, “Alliance Sarajevo,” founded by the Jewish writer Bernard Henry-Lévy, may turn out to be a true political turning-point. This is the first time since the death of Charles de Gaulle in 1970 where an issue of foreign policy other than some jingoistic hobby horse—an issue of strategic import to the world as a whole—has taken center stage of the public debate in France. The platform of Alliance Sarajevo rejects partition, upholds the territorial unity of Bosnia, and calls for lifting the arms embargo and executing all U.N. resolutions on Bosnia, i.e., enforcing air strikes.

The French population is being swept up in a wave of concern with the affairs of state, a thing potentially as threatening to the ruling elite as the mass political ferment created by Marshal Blücher’s military reforms under the Wars of Liberation against Napoleon. So the question is not at all whether one likes or admires Henry-Lévy, Mr. Herzog, Mr. Julliard, or the gaggle of elegant denizens of Parisian café society they have attracted, nor whether Henry-Lévy’s crony Michel Rocard may have his political hand strengthened in the upcoming presidential elections.

What is happening—and this has not escaped the frightened attention of French President François Mitterrand and his friends in London—is that the French population has broken out into revolt against a policy which they believe to be not only unprincipled, but a threat to the survival of the nation. This, at a point in time when the economic policies of Mitterrand, dictated by Anglo-Saxon financial interests, have led to over 6 million unemployed and squalid misery in the cities of a kind not seen in France since the early 19th century. In a country where the man in the street takes a personal interest in history (news kiosks on every corner stock dozens of popular historical periodicals), there has been readily drawn the parallel between Mitterrand’s alignment on London, and the Great War of 1914-18 in which over a million Frenchmen were immolated to serve British policy on what the British fondly call “The Continent.” This, we have ascertained in hundreds of conversations on the streets during leaflet distributions, where the word on everyone’s lips is: “Mitterrand is leading us down the path to world war.”

The Anglophile Mitterrand is definitely not amused by Henry-Lévy's move which, though he refers to it as a caper, has unleashed a frenzy of hostility throughout the French elite, regardless of political color. On May 26, Claude Cheysson, the former foreign minister, on national radio, was foaming at the mouth at the shame and irresponsibility of it all, that it must be a Frenchman breaking the European-wide consensus that Bosnia must die, and so forth. The day before, Mitterrand himself, making public his own privy remarks to the French cabinet meeting, said that the film *Bosna* is "shameful"; as for attacks on himself, the President personally, "Why do they have to criticize *me* for the policy? The Europeans will in any case do everything to prevent the arms embargo on Bosnia from being lifted "or it will be *total war*. But, *happily*, we are not yet at that stage."

The whole of British strategy in continental Europe rests upon France remaining tightly inside the straitjacket of the Entente Cordiale, Franco-British alliance which led to World War I and has been revived at each point in this century the British oligarchy decided to lead the world into war. To what grotesque lengths this has gone is shown by a recent incident, when the French government actually had David Lord Owen act as its spokesman in the Première Urgence affair. On April 8, some 11 Frenchmen from a relief agency called Première Urgence were kidnapped in Bosnia, their entire convoy, truck, and cargo included, stolen by the Serbians, who announced the men would be tried for "weapons trafficking." Première Urgence had enraged the Serbians by refusing to pay the medieval fines levied for the privilege of passing through Serbian-occupied territory. Owen told the press that he had received "assurances" from a Karadzic intermediary "in whom I have absolute confidence" that the Frenchmen would be freed, "in order not to spoil the atmosphere of the Geneva talks."

Shortly thereafter, on May 18, Mr. Mitterrand's squeaky-clean government caused to be paid to the Bosnian Serbs a *ransom of 250,000 new francs*, ostensibly to buy the hostages' freedom. So here we have a world power, France, with nuclear weapons, a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, paying *ransom money* to a bunch of gangsters and rapists! Throughout the entire scandalous affair, the French government did everything to legitimize the idea that the self-declared "Serbian Republic of Bosnia" in fact exists, by sending an unending stream of French diplomats—including, unbelievably, the French ambassador to Sarajevo and Jean-Christian Ruffin from the cabinet of the defense minister—to visit the Serbian ruffians in their hideouts.

A well-informed French journalist, Patrick Sabatier, writing in the Paris daily *Libération*, mooted that the little game at the expense of the boys from Première Urgence was a show put on to allow Mitterrand, once they were freed, to run forward and call for lifting trade sanctions against Serbia. Sabatier added that the palaver over whether

or not France shall withdraw its U.N. contingent, was part of the deal with Milosevic, the United States being the target. Bosnian sources have indicated that the threats from French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur and Foreign Minister Alain Juppé in that direction are most likely coordinated with London, and are intended to leave British troops in top-down control of the terrain; in British military circles, it is now spoken of an "indefinite" presence of their men in Bosnia.

The Turkish and Pakistani Unprofor "peacekeeping" troops about to arrive in Bosnia will be placed under British command; most of the present Unprofor battalions, including the Malaysian, are now under the British. Gen. Sir Michael Rose is of course Unprofor Commander for Bosnia, and Brigadier Ridgway Commander for South-Western Bosnia; a Frenchman, Gen. Bertrand de Lapresle, who has, at least on paper, overall command for "ex-Yugoslavia," is about to be withdrawn and replaced by another Englishman.

In British eyes, this has become all the more necessary to ensure the "right" military outcome, because of the recent series of reversals for Serbia on Bosnian fields: At virtually each occasion, Serbia has been drawn into infantry battles.

In a tone offensive in the extreme—amazing how these Vichyites take to aping their British idols, and what a pity that the French language does not allow for class differentiation by accent!—a high-ranking French officer told *Libération* late in May that the French ministers' "threats" to withdraw their troops from Bosnia, were "a clear signal aimed at both Sarajevo and Washington. If the United States wants to arm the Muslims and encourage them to wage war, let them go the whole hog! Let them declare war on Serbia!" said the officer. A senior diplomat added: "Let's see whether the United States really accepts the Geneva plan, in other words, whether they can make it plain to the Bosnians that they should not count on any help to relaunch the war."

These French statements reflect, down to the last jot and tittle, the present British policy, and if they can ram it through, they will bring down the entire structure of international law, in recognizing the change of international borders by armed might. On May 21, Foreign Office Minister Douglas Hogg told the Bosnians to "recognize military defeat when it stares them in the face. They have got to accept that the military option has to be abandoned, that land has been seized by force, and there is going to have to be a degree of acquiescence in that." And General Rose chimed in on May 25: "The Muslims [sic] have no hope of regaining territory lost to the Serbians; to continue fighting is pointless."

Back in the United States, the battle rages on in the Congress and Senate over the arms embargo. On May 12, the Congress, at the initiative of Rep. Frank McCloskey (D-Ind.) had narrowly voted to lift the embargo. This went to vote in the Senate on May 25, in the form of a binding resolution; but foolishly, the U.S. administration intervened



A rally of Bosnians in Copenhagen, Denmark in April 1994 with the banner, "Give us weapons and we will defend NATO and the U.N." In France, a political movement has been launched to back that demand, and it is making President François Mitterrand (inset) mighty uncomfortable.

and had the vote put off till June 9, since President Clinton had given a speech to the U.S. Naval Academy about the need for "consensus" among the allies over Bosnia. In the interval, the administration perhaps expects that the Geneva talks will resume and that the Bosnians will sign partition, thus "solving" the problem—until, perhaps, the upcoming pan-Balkan war?

What consensus Clinton can hope from "stable" allies such as Mitterrand is a fraught point. Mitterrand has already been President of France for 13 awful years, and he cannot run for reelection in 1995. All around him, his political friends and acolytes rush to commit suicide or be suicided, the latest we know of being François de Grossouvre, who had the indelicacy to blow his brains out inside the Elysée Palace. Someone, in any case, is in a tearing hurry to sweep up before the new crowd pushes its way into those cobwebby recesses and archives. And one thing is certain: Bleak as things may look at present, the policy of the Entente Cordiale with England is on the outs. Out, too, will go Mitterrand's coalition partners, such as his "Gaullist" Foreign Minister Alain Juppé, author of a book entitled aptly enough, *Venice, the Temptress*.

As a British source commented to us, the mid-May talks between Yeltsin and Kohl over infrastructure for Russia cannot leave anyone with any brains in France indifferent; they are, he said, the death knoll for the Entente Cordiale.

Mitterrand's alliance with England has brought French industry and business nothing except growing chaos in Russia and a string of new colonial wars over pie-in-the-sky, namely who will get their hands on the raw materials once all the Africans have been killed off. In contrast, an alliance between France and Germany to develop Russia would solve, at a stroke, France's problems of creating a market for her heavy industry for several decades.

Which all goes to show, that what is bad for the Entente Cordiale, is good for the world. On Sunday, May 22, Bosnian President Izetbegovic landed in Paris for a 24-hour visit, ostensibly to attend M. Henry-Lévy's film *Bosna*, but in fact to endorse the Alliance Sarajevo electoral list. President Mitterrand, otherwise so addicted to an afternoon stroll, found time to denounce M. Henry-Lévy as a "war-monger," but had not a minute to meet with the Bosnian President.

Although one would not normally describe Izetbegovic as witty, back in Sarajevo he had just referred to the new "contact group" set up by England, France, Russia, and the United States to blackmail the Bosnians to sign onto partition, as a dog-and-pony show. "Who are these travelers," he asked, "wandering in without a clear mandate and with nothing special to say?" In Paris on Sunday, May 23, surrounded by hundreds of Bosnians at the film viewing, he made a short speech demanding that the West stop intervening in Bosnia, but simply lift the arms embargo.